

INTRODUCTION

Mrs Emilia Baeyertz was a converted Jewess who had a public evangelistic ministry in Australia and overseas during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Her career is not well known, yet at the time she spoke to audiences of thousands. My purpose in this paper will be to set her life in the context of the general expectations of a woman's role in the mainstream Protestant denominations¹ during this time², and to consider how her career fits with criteria for nineteenth century women evangelists developed by Anderson.

CONTEMPORARY EXPECTATIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN WOMAN'S ROLE

Serena Thorne Lake, the South Australian Methodist woman preacher and leader in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, said "*We recognise that the home is the centre of our sphere, but not its circumference.*"³ Using the spherical model I have identified widening arcs of female activity in Christian circles. Work that was seen as private, or related to the home or its defence, was acceptable; but once women moved further away from this centre, their activities were looked at more dubiously and eventually critically. Public female preaching was on the circumference, with ordination at this stage not usually a matter for serious debate.

¹ namely, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Brethren and Church of Christ, with some brief reference to the Salvation Army and Quakers. I have confined my interest to these as being those that had (broadly speaking) orthodox doctrine, with a basis in Scripture, and were the churches among which Mrs Baeyertz ministered.

² ie c. 1860 - 1910, although occasional references are made to events or comments outside this time frame where relevant, as change was often slow. References are mostly to Australia or the UK, but occasionally where I believe the remarks apply equally I have used American ones.

³ Serena Thorne Lake (1891), quoted at the head of chapter 4 of H Jones, *In Her Own Name* (Netley, SA., 1986), p. 78.

It is an axiom that "women's place was in the home".⁴ Davidoff and Hall write that "if women, with their special aptitude for faith, could be contained within that home ... space would be created for true family religion" and quote a rapturous encomium by John Angell James, the prominent Independent clergyman, "...HOME. The elysium of love - the nursery of virtue - the garden of enjoyment - the temple of concord - the circle of all tender relationships - the playground of childhood - the dwelling of manhood - the retreat of age... this, - home - sweet home - is the sphere of wedded woman's mission."⁵ Certainly the major expectation for a Christian woman was that she should marry (or be attached to a family) and wield her gentle influence over her children in bringing them up in the faith.⁶

Church-based activities were seen to some extent as an extension of the home, and a "safe" area in which women could work.⁷ Stephens writes of the "great majority" in Tasmania who "faithfully used their talents ... in cooking, cleaning, money raising, teaching, drama, music, floral work, youth groups, organisation and leadership [of women's groups], needlework and so on."⁸ The Anglican Mothers' Union and Girls' Friendly Societies were formed to protect marriage and foster social purity. Fund-raising was of particular importance in Australia where Anglican churches were not endowed⁹, and also provided valuable social contact for those involved.

⁴ This was not just a Christian viewpoint, but a general social belief. See the debate on women's suffrage in the Victorian Parliament as late as 1908, in C M H Clark, *Select Documents in Australian History* (Sydney, 1970), pp. 390-9, esp. p. 397-8: "Home life was a woman's proper sphere. The power she had of influencing her children, and impressing upon them in their early days the difference between right and wrong, was of far greater benefit than any influence she could possibly have by visiting the ballot box and recording her vote."

⁵ L Davidoff and C Hall, *Family Fortunes* (London, 1988), p. 115. A few further lines will give the feeling: "...HOME. The elysium of love - the nursery of virtue - the garden of enjoyment - the temple of concord - the circle of all tender relationships - the playground of childhood - the dwelling of manhood - the retreat of age..."

⁶ see Appendix A for my own great-great-grandmother's efforts in this regard.

⁷ H. McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe* (Oxford, 1981), p. 29 expands on this point.

⁸ G Stephens, *The Anglican Church in Tasmania* (Hobart, 1991), p. 230.

⁹ And in other churches: H Jackson, "Religious Ideas and Practice in Australian Congregationalism 1870 - 1930: Pt. I", *Journal of Religious History* 12 no. 3 (1983), gives amounts for the Congregational Church around the turn of the century (p. 277).

Ironically, although women were the majority of church members¹⁰, and their membership was not questioned¹¹, they were usually excluded from voting at church business meetings in denominations where these were held¹², and discouraged from holding parish offices¹³.

Women were allowed to teach in Sunday Schools, albeit at times reluctantly. Douglas says that "many [clergymen] frankly resented feminine encroachment on clerical power..."¹⁴ "These women will be in the pulpits next".¹⁴ Nevertheless Sunday Schools became one area where women with teaching skills were able to use them. This was so both in the earlier philanthropic phase of Sunday Schools¹⁵, and the later phase when they became more particularly a vehicle for grounding children in the faith.

Among acceptable roles for women, that of minister's wife should not be overlooked. Even today they act as unpaid assistants in many cases, and Ada Cambridge gave a telling account of the burdens placed on clerical wives, including one who went insane.¹⁶ Such wives would "play the organ, conduct the choir and the Sunday

¹⁰ This is mentioned in passing as a fact by many authors; a good example is in A Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977), p. 97: "...the nineteenth century minister moved in a world of women. He preached mainly to women; he administered what sacraments he performed largely for women; he worked not only for them but with them, in mission and charity work of all kinds." Those who give evidence include: H McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (Hamden, 1974), p.30: "In every [London] borough but Stepney the proportion of women attending church (24%) was higher than the proportion of men (18.1%)" ; O Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (part II) (London, 1970), p. 223 giving figures for the diocese of York in 1900 showing Nonconformists almost equal in gender representation, but Anglicans with 35% males in attendance, Roman Catholics 41%, even the Salvation Army 46%; and Jackson, op. cit., p. 273: "A growing difference between the sexes is ... evident in the membership and communion records of the Independent Church in Collins Street, Melbourne" (followed by tables showing a drop in male membership from 88.3 per 100 females in 1868 to 52.3 in 1912). He also comments (p. 276) that "the disengagement of men from church life was much remarked on by denominational leaders."

¹¹ B Kingston, "Faith and Fetes: Women and the History of the Churches in Australia", in S Willis (ed.), *Women, Faith and Fetes* (Melbourne, 1977), p. 21.

¹² Davidoff & Hall, op. cit., pp. 133-4. In Tasmania Anglican women were permitted to vote for the election of lay representatives to Synod from 1905 - Stephens, op. cit., p. 142.

¹³ Davidoff and Hall, op. cit., p. 137: "It was seen as unnatural, a sign of the backward uncivilized condition of a parish organisation. It evoked comparison with the more extreme forms of Methodism where female office holding and public preaching were permitted and taken by others as signs of vulgarity."

¹⁴ Douglas, op. cit., p. 112.

¹⁵ the example *par excellence*, although before this period, was Hannah More and her sisters in the village of Cheddar. See the extract from her writings in J F C Harrison (ed.), *Society and Politics in England 1780- 1960* (New York, 1965), pp. 114-8.

¹⁶ A Cambridge, *Thirty Years in Australia* (Kensington, 1989), pp. 73-4. The woman referred to had 13 children, and the last straw was to be asked by her husband to fill in (again) as organist.

School, get up tea-meetings, visit the parishioners"¹⁷ and often head up fund-raising efforts and sooth parish squabbles. An affectionate grandfather wrote in 1862 to the fiancée of a clergyman, "I hope yet to see you domesticated at the parsonage, where you will be well qualified to act the parts of wife, Mother, friend, the latter, especially of the poor, I can fancy you in the Sunday School instructing "the Babes in Christ", visiting the Girls day Schools, encouraging them to industry, as well as mental improvement..."¹⁸

Philanthropic activities in general were acceptable, partly as an expression of the more feminine Christian virtues, and partly because they were seen as a protection of the values of the home. Such activities as classes for factory girls¹⁹, distribution of tracts, formation of charitable societies, and establishment of women's refuges were common, if not necessarily expected. Protective husbands and other men sometimes protested that women involved in these areas were exposed to scenes not suitable for them, and many of these organisations started at least with male committees, although the work was done by women.²⁰ Godden, writing about the Sydney women's refuges, says that "although both refuges were nominally under the control of men, in practice they were administered by women...whilst the Ladies' Committee demanded the right to control the refuge as being within the women's sphere, it was not considered ladylike to court publicity for their work. They were therefore content to allow the men the public credit and, legally, the final responsibility."²¹

¹⁷ R Teale, "Matron, Maid and Missionary: The Work of Anglican Women in Australia", in Willis, op. cit., p. 119.

¹⁸ Letter in my possession from William Thompson, my great-great-great grandfather, to Louisa Caroline Brady, my great-grandmother, on the eve of her marriage to Arthur Benjamin Irvine.

¹⁹ For example, the work among mill-girls undertaken at "The Welcome" in Belfast by Amy Carmichael (later of Dohnavur, India). F Houghton, *Amy Carmichael of Dohnavur* (London, 1959), chapter III.

²⁰ For example, the Orphan Home in Adelaide had a mixed committee, the Servants' Home an all-female one, but the Women's Refuge began with an all-male one. Jones, op. cit., pp. 116-7.

²¹ J Godden, "Sectarianism and Purity within the Woman's Sphere: Sydney Refuges during the late Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Religious History* 14 (1986), p. 294.

Towards the end of the century Anglican sisterhoods²² and deaconesses²³ were established in Australia, generally in response to social or educational needs, but not without opposition. "From its beginnings, the Community [of the Holy Name] was subjected to criticism on theological grounds," their historian writes.²⁴ Defensive reference had to be made to the existence of deaconesses in the primitive church in the annual report of 1888. Many people felt that for women to dedicate themselves to a single life of service was unnatural and smacked of Catholicism, and some would-be sisters faced great personal opposition before they entered religious life.

Missionary work was another avenue of service that was tolerated.²⁵ By the turn of the century women outnumbered men on the mission field²⁶ and indeed, faced by enormous needs and freed from some of the restraints of home, women often undertook tasks that would have been denied them at home. Women also contributed a great deal of money to the missionary effort.²⁷ Nevertheless, some people still looked askance at women who took such a drastic step.²⁸

Another outlet for a Christian woman's talents was writing. For some reason men could read material written by a woman which they would not have tolerated from the pulpit.²⁹ Women wrote novels with an improving or Christian theme, devotional or exhortatory literature (although not usually commentaries), biographies, poetry,

²² The Community of the Holy Name (1888), the Society of the Sacred Advent (1892), and the Sisters of the Church (1892) - Teale, op. cit., p. 125. The first two were involved mainly in social work; the last in education.

²³ 1885 - *ibid*, p. 125-6.

²⁴ L Strahan, *Out of the Silence* (Melbourne, 1988), p. 26. As the first Sisters were designated deaconesses for some years, this criticism covered that order too.

²⁵ Douglas, op. cit., p. 111: "For a long while it appeared that women could not even be missionaries, if ministers were to decide the issue. Women, who were eventually to be absolutely indispensable to the missionary effort, won the right to enter, then to organize, mission work over repeated and widespread clerical opposition."

²⁶ S Bailey, *Women of the British Empire* (New York & London, 1983), p. 117. The whole of chapter III is an excellent overview of female missionary work.

²⁷ *ibid*, p. 119: "By 1900, female subscriptions to missionary societies were nearly fifty percent of the total." (UK figures). Douglas makes a similar comment about American women: Douglas, op. cit., p. 106.

²⁸ My grandmother, Agnes Kay, came from a Presbyterian family in New Zealand, and went to India in 1898 with the Poona and Inland Village Mission. Even today, nearly 100 years later, there is still a feeling in the family there that this was a somewhat fanatical and unnecessary application of the Christian faith.

²⁹ "Writing provided a form of intervention for women at a time when other kinds of public speech were increasingly difficult." Davidoff & Hall, op. cit., p. 146.

children's stories and hymns³⁰ - and as Douglas writes, "Few of the controls which blocked feminine mobility in the church existed on the literary scene ... how could [the minister] dictate the reading of his parishioners?"³¹ Nevertheless, however popular authors may have been with their public, they still had to struggle to fit in the time to write with their domestic duties, as Ada Cambridge so graphically showed.

Veering towards the outer limits of my circle, and arising out of philanthropic concerns, was the work of temperance reformers. In Australia (and elsewhere) this is exemplified by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, though there were many lesser societies. The WCTU provided an apprenticeship for many women in public speaking and political activities, and temperance was an acceptable cause because of the hardship caused to families by drunkenness.³² It therefore tied in well with the central core of female *raison d'être*. Nevertheless as Tyrrell points out, the WCTU had to take second place to church work, despite the evangelical impulses that underlay it.³³

The WCTU was a bridge for many women into the world of public speaking, although this tended to be more in the political sphere than the religious.³⁴ The issue of women speaking in church or at a religious meeting was felt by the majority of Protestants to have been decided in the negative by St. Paul in such verses as I Cor. 11:3-10 & 15:34 ("women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed

³⁰ Names such as Frances Ridley Havergal, Fanny Crosby, Amy Le Feuvre, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Christina Rossetti, Amy Carmichael spring to mind without further research!

³¹ Douglas, op. cit., p. 112.

³² A Hyslop, "Christian Temperance and Social Reform: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Victoria, 1887-1912", in Willis, op. cit., p. 51.

³³ I Tyrrell, "International Aspects of the Women's Temperance Movement in Australia: The Influence of the American WCTU, 1882-1914", *Journal of Religious History* 12, no. 3 (1983), p. 296: "...it was the churches that first gave women a social role. Time and time again the biographies of these WCTU women referred to their church work and to the influence of the 1883 visit of the female evangelist, Mrs Hampson from Manchester, in convincing them that women had a wider role to play than in the home. Yet evangelical religion also restrained the growth of consciousness and confidence of these women...Again and again [the WCTU was] met with the objection that 'the regular lines of church work' occupied the time of the 'busy church member'".

³⁴ *ibid*, p. 295.

to speak...") and 1 Tim. 2:11-15 ("I do not permit a women to teach or have authority over a man; she must be silent.")³⁵

As Teale writes, "The press ridicule, particularly in the Sydney *Bulletin*, that greeted the outbursts of women temperance advocates or missionaries testifying to their salvation, discouraged churchwomen generally from ascending the public platform."³⁶ Even at the opening of the YWCA premises in Sydney in 1884, the presiding Presbyterian minister made it clear that he disapproved of women preachers, while indicating that "there could not be the slightest objection to ladies endeavouring to influence their own sex by proclaiming to them the words of eternal life."³⁷

Women preachers were nevertheless not unknown, although they were more common (in the United Kingdom at least) earlier in the century, mainly among the Methodist groups.³⁸ They were mostly used in itinerant folk evangelism, often outdoors.

³⁵ I Cor. 11:3-10 & 15:34 ("women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak...") and 1 Tim. 2:11-15 ("I do not permit a women to teach or have authority over a man; she must be silent.")

³⁶ Teale, op. cit., p. 120. I am reminded of Dr Johnson's jibe, "Sir, a women's preaching is like a dog's walking on his hinder legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all." Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. I, p. 463.

³⁷ Jones, op. cit., p. 119

³⁸ The Wesleyans condemned the practice in 1803: McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth Century Britain* (op. cit.), p. 30. The last female itinerant among the Primitive Methodists retired in the 1860's. (Ibid). "The use of women was more marked and persisted...longer among the Bible Christians" although their numbers were reduced to 1 by 1901 (this was helped by the ordained ministers being urged to choose their wives from among the women evangelists). K D Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800-1930* (Oxford, 1988), p. 17. McLeod (op. cit., p. 46) says that the Independent Methodists made no distinction between men and women, and (p. 33) that the Methodist New Connexion, from which the Salvation Army grew, had many women preachers. These statements are all for the UK, but I have seen nothing to suggest Australia was very different, and in fact probably had fewer female preachers.

The Salvation Army, following Catherine Booth's lead and her obvious gift, encouraged women to be active in all areas of evangelism and ministry virtually from the start. R Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army 1865-1878* (Edinburgh, 1947), p. 8, and L Tarling, *Thank God for the Salvos* (Sydney, 1980), p. 68.

The Quakers of course had always had women ministers and speakers, although even among Friends a too prominent part by women was being discouraged as the century advanced. See Davidoff and Hall, op. cit., pp. 137-140.

Congregationalists had some women speakers in their churches, although they did not ordain women until 1917 (I Binfield, *So Down to Prayers* (London, 1977) gives a good example in the 1890's - p. 222). Baptists did not admit female minsters until the 1930's (Brown, op. cit., p. 17), although Douglas gives an account of Mary Lyon in the USA who was a most influential and gifted evangelist in the 1820's and 1830's (Douglas, op. cit., pp. 105-6). The Brethren never really allowed women's ministry, although some women were involved in mission hall outreaches, and some very influential women such as Lady Powerscourt hosted early conferences.

However, during the Second Evangelical Awakening of 1859 and after, a new group of women speakers arose. This seems to be in keeping with the pattern that movements in their early, more millenarian or revival stage are more flexible about gender roles, but "those movements which lasted long enough to achieve respectability and to undergo bureaucratisation generally pushed their women members back into subordinate roles."³⁹ Thus the prophetic role became submerged as first enthusiasm waned.

However, Olive Anderson in an interesting article entitled "Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflections on Feminism, Popular Religion and Social Change" distinguishes between the earlier female preachers and those post-1859 in various ways.⁴⁰ She shows that throughout the 1860s there was a "very rapid expansion of women's activity in church life", in all the acceptable areas I have discussed above. However, this work was within the aegis of the church or among the poor and women and children, and care was taken to avoid any appearance of assuming a "position of spiritual leader in a large mixed gathering of the respectable".⁴¹

She points out that any earlier preaching was usually simple evangelism by women of the lower classes, and fitted the prophetic role mentioned above. The later women preachers were generally middle-class or above, were inter-denominational in outlook, combined holiness teaching with evangelism, responded to specific invitations to lead missions (rather than merely itinerated), often spoke in town halls or theatres, and felt they were acting on the special call of God rather than from feminist arguments on equality.⁴² Anderson argues that these women found what acceptance they did because of the enthusiastic spirit of the Revival, the thorough-going laicism that

The Church of England at no stage conceded the right of women to preach or to be ordained, although among Evangelicals some women had a very active role in personal work, missions etc.

³⁹ McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe* (op. cit.), p. 28

⁴⁰ O Anderson, "Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflections on Feminism, Popular Religion and Social Change", *The Historical Journal* XII, 3 (1969), pp. 4667-484 passim.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 468

⁴² Anderson talks about one of the distinguishing characteristics of female preaching of the period being its self-consciousness: "in some quarters there was a deliberate attempt to establish the special significance and acceptability to God at this particular juncture of the ministry of women, as opposed to that of men." (p. 474).

accompanied that revival, and its feature of deliberate sensationalism. In other words, preaching was *not* an activity the general public expected to see a woman doing.

It should be added that although she mentions that "the careers of nearly forty of these women have been traced in some detail",⁴³ they were regarded as the exception rather than the rule, and there was much controversy over their activities in the early years. This paper will demonstrate that Mrs Baeyertz fits Anderson's model almost exactly.

Women preachers teeter on the edge of my imaginary circumference, but apart from among the Quakers and the Salvation Army, regular "ordained" or recognised women ministers in a parish or pastoral role do not appear within the charmed circle at all in the nineteenth century. As Douglas puts it, "Of course women could not be ministers - all ecclesiastical authorities were agreed on that."⁴⁴

Notwithstanding the many restrictions and sometimes unspoken prohibitions, many Christian women found fulfilment, whether of a religious or social kind, in their church-related involvement. Sometimes the comfortable view of husbands or the wider family that this was a "safe" area was rudely shattered. As Davidoff and Hall conclude, "Religion offered a key to...a world, where women could be valued for their spiritual worth if not their material power, where a 'religious career' could give meaning to women's experience and express some of their aspirations."⁴⁵ In Mrs Baeyertz we find a prime example of this situation.

HOW I CAME ACROSS HER

SOURCES

There is a biography of Mrs Baeyertz by Sydney Watson, entitled *From Darkness to Light*, with a copy held in the Tasmaniana library, as is also a book of 12 sermons. There are reports of her meetings in a short-lived Christian journal called *Willing*

⁴³ *ibid*, p. 470. This is in the UK.

⁴⁴ Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁴⁵ Davidoff & Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

Work, started with the aim of reporting evangelistic work in the Australian colonies, a set of which is held in the Mitchell Library, and Hobart meetings are reported in the *Tribune*. As I said earlier, there is also a little about her in a private diary, and there would be numerous reports in other newspapers of cities where she spoke. There is a brief article in the *Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*.

MRS BAEYERTZ' LIFE AND MINISTRY

Emilia Aronson was born into an Orthodox Jewish family in Bangor, North Wales, in 1842. She suffered chronic ill-health as a child, and was withdrawn from school at 13. She came to Australia in 1865 to recuperate after a nervous breakdown following the fatal illness of her fiancé. (Interestingly, a Jewish couple on their honeymoon travelled to Australia on the same boat, the *Empire of Peace* – Louis and Bertha Monash, parents of Sir John. They described it as a “miserable tub”!) ⁴⁶ However 4 months on a sailing ship, and life in Australia, restored her health completely, and she was later to fulfil schedules of large meetings with only short periods of respite in between – and indeed lived to the age of 84.

In Melbourne, after a year of balls, concerts and theatre parties, she married Charles Baeyertz. He was a bank manager, a committed Anglican, and they were married secretly at Christ Church, Hawthorn. As a result she was cut off from her family (she had a brother and sister in Melbourne), although she did not then convert to Christianity. In fact she wrote “Before we were married, I exacted a promise from my husband that he would never use any religious arguments as I was determined to live and die as a Jewess.”⁴⁷ Theirs was, according to the account, a very happy marriage; they moved to Colac on the edge of Victoria’s Western District and had a son and a daughter.

Despite her husband's promise not to speak to her about religion, she was influenced by his life and faith, and decided to be christened at the same time as her baby

⁴⁶ Information from Mrs Betty Baruch, Melbourne.

daughter. She was later confirmed, believing she should be part of the faith in which she intended to bring up the children. However, she was aware that she had no belief that Christ was divine, and felt that to attend Communion was the rankest hypocrisy.⁴⁸ In fact she suffered some agony of soul over the whole issue.

At this stage of her life Mrs Baeyertz would have seemed the epitome of a woman at the centre of a woman's sphere. She had a loving husband and two beautiful children, she had dutifully "turned" to his faith, and "through all this time at Colac she was a constant attendant at church, assisting in special ways, and taking part in every ordinary effort made in the general work."⁴⁹ She was even presented with a "handsome silver tea and coffee service" in recognition of her services.

However, she felt no real peace of heart about her state of faith, and following the shock of her husband's fatal shooting accident, resolved to be ready to meet him in heaven. Her conversion experience resulted from her reading the gospel of John, which convinced her that Christ was God, and made a profound difference to her life. Her biographer contrasts the empty social life which she had prior to this event with the activities in which she now engaged. She was moving gradually into the sphere of church and philanthropic work. Her activities changed from what might be called "physical" support of the parish church, to a more personal, "soul-winning" approach. After moving to Geelong in about 1871, she undertook visiting in the gaol and hospital; she took up regular house-to-house visiting (holding her commission "not from the vicar of the parish only, but from her loving Lord"); and she taught a large class of senior teenage boys in Sunday School.⁵⁰

That she was well aware of what society expected of her is evident from a paragraph in the biography which reads, "In spite of all this outside work she never neglected her home or her children. From the first she had had a deep sense of the responsibility of motherhood, and nothing was ever permitted to interfere with God's first charge to her - her home and little ones. Her boy was her constant companion, when not working

⁴⁷ *New Life*, 14 July 1994, p. 9

⁴⁸ *From Darkness to Light* pp. 22-3.

⁴⁹ *ibid*, p. 23.

for God, and a great comfort to her."⁵¹ Later her biographer emphasises that she did not contemplate preaching tours away from home, especially not overseas, until her son was married and settled. There are two instances given when her daughter was very ill and Mrs Baeyertz pleaded with God to spare her, particularly mentioning the comfort she had been as a baby when her husband died. Her daughter appears to have remained unmarried for some years and accompanied her mother on speaking tours.

There are hints that her son did not entirely agree with his mother's lifestyle, as when she left Australia the biography states "He was the child of many prayers, and her heart was strained to its utmost tension as she bade him farewell. No eye but God's, no ear save His, saw or heard all that passed in those last sad moments. It is not for us to try to picture that interview."⁵² He is not mentioned in her will, and recently I have spoken to a researcher in Sydney who has been in contact with her grandson who knew very little of his grandmother – evidently contact was more or less lost after her move to England.

Another step in her life during this time in Geelong was the occasion of offering her first prayer in public. It gives a picture of the constraints women might feel at audible participation in religious or public activities, especially when it is remembered that Mrs Baeyertz was active in other activities where she needed to be articulate. It was at a prayer meeting for mothers held in the Presbyterian manse, and after a struggle she consented to read out a prayer, which she would prepare at home, at the next meeting. However "when her turn came to pray she discovered, to her dismay, that the light was too dim for her to see the written letters. An awful sense of nervousness came over her, so that the dim lines danced in a maze before her eyes. What should she do? She had begun, so could not break off abruptly without an attempt to fulfil her promised word. She thrust the paper prayer into her pocket, looked straight away to God, talked to Him as a yearning child would to a parent and speedily forgot everything else."⁵³ Thereafter she had no more qualms. Perhaps the problem this gifted and active lady felt at praying in what was hardly a "public" meeting gives us

⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 39.

⁵¹ *ibid*, p. 40.

⁵² *ibid*, p. 59.

some idea of the unseen bridges women had to cross if they were to undertake any kind of public ministry.

It was also in Geelong that she had what would now be called a charismatic experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which she felt gave her the power and strength to undertake her later ministry. It does not seem to have been accompanied by any manifestations such as speaking in tongues, but after this she found far more effectiveness in her ministry.⁵⁴ Repeatedly she affirmed that any power in her words was from God alone, and that He gave her the words to speak.

Her next move was to Melbourne, where Rev. H. B. Macartney, an Anglican minister in Caulfield, asked her to be a missionary to the Jews. Two aspects of Mrs Baeyertz' circumstances gave her freedom which other women did not have: she was a widow in comfortable financial circumstances, and she had been Jewish. She was often advertised as "the converted Jewess". This latter gave her the advantage of being already rather unusual, if not an object of some curiosity, and her behaviour could be to some extent explained away on this basis if necessary.

The Jewish ministry was not successful (in fact she received death threats), and she soon began work among factory girls. At first she held meetings in the dinner-hours; by 1878, at the instigation of the Secretary of the YWCA, large night meetings in the Assembly Hall. Hearing of her successes, with many girls experiencing an evangelical conversion, ministers began inviting her to their churches, wanting to see the same results there.

It was at this stage that she crossed the line between what was acceptable, even expected, of a Christian woman, and what could cause notoriety. By now she had left behind the more acceptable church-based activities, and even the more philanthropic ones such as hospital visiting. That she was well aware of the problems is evidenced by her perplexity as to whether to accept these invitations: "she was not clear in her mind as to her right to attend mixed meetings ... great darkness of soul came over her

⁵³ *ibid*, p.41.

... she began to wonder if...it was God's mind for her to take mixed meetings, and whether her refusal had caused God to give her this darkness to force her to face this great question as in His sight." She sought the advice of a friend who lent her a book, through which it seemed to her that "the Spirit clearly revealed to her what the mind of God was on this matter, *as regarded herself* [my emphasis], and kneeling down, she gave up her reputation to God. She told Him she was willing to be misunderstood by all the world if only she had his smile."⁵⁵

This conviction was tested quite soon with an invitation to speak at a Congregational church. She was rather horrified to find the whole church packed, and three ministers present! "The three men before her were tall, big men, and with their long, black coats, their solemn faces, and their huge white starched ties, they appeared like sons of Anak in her path." However she felt filled with the peace of God and was able to give the message she believed she had been given, with the result that there were "two vestries filled with seekers after salvation. From that time invitations to speak in various churches flowed in faster than she could fulfil them, and she was now fairly launched upon the world as an Evangelist for God."⁵⁶

I have dwelt on this matter because it clearly shows that she did not undertake speaking to mixed audiences lightly, and certainly not as a stand for equality. It seems to me Mrs Baeyertz fits Anderson's category of women speakers who believed they had a special call from God, suited for the times: note the phrase "as regarded myself". She was not claiming this right for every woman.

Later in the biography the Rev. A J Gordon of Boston is quoted as saying, "We count it among the most significant signs of the times that so many women are moved by the Spirit of God to tell out the story of redemption, and to lend their help in the work of gathering in the harvest of souls. At home and abroad as missionaries and evangelists, as Bible readers and tract distributors, the number of Christian women who are doing the Lord's work is constantly increasing. We believe, in spite of the seeming

⁵⁴ "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost", in *Twelve Addresses* (n.d.).

⁵⁵ *From Darkness to Light*, p.46

⁵⁶ *ibid*, p. 47

prohibition of Paul, that the Spirit of God calls and commissions women to be evangelists."⁵⁷

That the acceptability of a woman preacher depended upon the evident blessing of God on her work is borne out by another quotation from a letter by the Bishop of Nelson, who wrote that "Notwithstanding all that is said upon the opposite side, I could not if I had the power dissuade her from what cordially receives the Divine blessing; but her action and the conduct of her services disarm all opposition that should arise, and the Lord certainly confirms the Word as spoken by her with signs."⁵⁸

Both of these comments imply some level of comment or criticism, as would only be expected. Her biographer, who wrote a somewhat eulogistic work, does not mention any complaints about Mrs Baeyertz' public preaching, but there are hints about how it was regarded in the real world. Apart from the quotes above, a leader in the Montreal press, bracketing Mrs Baeyertz with Mrs Booth-Clibborn, Lady Henry Somerset, and Miss Blanche Cox of the Salvation Army and presumably answering or anticipating critics, wrote that "The propriety of employing women evangelists, which has lately been discussed a good deal in Christian circles in the United States and Canada, seems to have been effectually settled in the affirmative ... by the recent visits, in close succession, of three or four very eminent women speakers...Facts are often more convincing than any argument, and few who have heard any of these holy women could doubt that God has given to them, as well as to consecrated men, the evangelistic power..." Interestingly, the writer goes on to comment that "the Protestant community of Montreal is known to be very conservative in religious matters" and that even the great D. L. Moody was not very successful there, but that somewhat to everyone's amazement, "an unknown evangelist, and a woman at that, ... in one short week [turned] the tide of Christian sentiment here from a cold indifference ... to an overflowing enthusiasm such as has rarely occurred in this city."⁵⁹ He mentions thousands being drawn to the church where the meetings were being held.

⁵⁷ *ibid*, p. 74

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p. 75

⁵⁹ *ibid*, p. 92

All these writers argue from pragmatism: the results showed that she was blessed by God, so they warily put aside the norms of adherence to the New Testament prohibitions on women speaking in public. There was also the feeling since the Revivals in Britain of 1859-60 that these were extraordinary times, possibly leading to the imminent Second Coming of Christ. Both these elements are contained in a comment in the non-denominational periodical *Willing Work*, when writing about her ministry the editor Edwin Good said in 1878 “We are quite aware that different opinions exist as to the propriety and scripturalness of the public preaching of the gospel to a mixed audience by a lady, yet we are sure that all interested in the triumphs of the gospel must rejoice to know that as a result of her ministry a goodly number of precious souls have been won for the Saviour. It may be that God is giving special blessing to a weak instrument, partly as a reproof to the other sex, and partly as an encouragement to such as are qualified for this work ... or perhaps ... God is ... using extraordinary means to *compel them to come in before the final closing of the door*. But be this as it may, there can be no doubt of the genuineness of the work itself.”⁶⁰

She herself wrote, in a tribute to Henry Reed the Tasmanian Christian leader and philanthropist, that “in those early days, when I suffered much persecution because of the solitary walk as an evangelist which the Lord had marked out for me, I owe more than I can tell to the loving sympathy and saintly life of that blessed man of God, dear Henry Reed.”⁶¹ Clearly she had her supporters and detractors, and the former were evidently largely convinced of the validity of her calling by the blessing of God, evinced by the large crowds and changed lives of her hearers.

Certainly the reports in the *Tribune* of her Hobart meetings give no hint of criticism. In January 1879 they told their readers “Mrs Bayertz [sic] has elocutionary ability, a good command of simple but forcible language; she possesses a clear and distinct utterance, an earnest, pleasing, and modulative voice, and an intonation of pathos and feeling which renders her addresses very impressive, and gives her power over her

⁶⁰ *Willing Work*, 15 Feb 1878

⁶¹ Margaret S. E. Reed, *Henry Reed* (n.d.), pp. 237-8

hearers."⁶² Interestingly, the *Tribune* was not just being polite to a visitor; during the next week Mademoiselle Hermione, the noted and accomplished elocutionist, gave an address entitled "Our Queen: the Crown of the Nineteenth Century". While the *Tribune* said that she "not only fulfilled but surpassed the expectations of all who were fortunate enough to be present", and gave a glowing report of the content of her address, it also said that "although sometimes there was a slight indistinctness in her enunciation at the close of some of her sentences, owing to a rather too abrupt dropping of the voice, still, on the whole, the performance was an unqualified success."⁶³

Getting back to Mrs Baeyertz, the reports of her manner such as the one given in the *Tribune* seem to say as much by the attitudes they reflect as by their actual words. One feels that perhaps they expected a shrieking harridan warning them of the dangers of hell fire. Instead, they found, as a report from London said, that "Her quiet and ladylike demeanour, absolutely devoid of any peculiarity in dress, manner or language [a revealing list of presuppositions if ever there was one!], disarms at once any prejudice against a woman speaker that may have existed..."⁶⁴ The press in Christchurch wrote that she was "totally devoid of sensationalism, of quiet, dignified manner, and exercising a marked influence over her hearers."⁶⁵

We have a description of Mrs Baeyertz from a Toronto newspaper which bears out these comments and gives a picture of what she looked like: "She is a middle-aged lady, of striking presence – erect and commanding in figure, though not tall; with a dark countenance, brown eyes, firm chin, and characteristic nose. Her face is one that would arrest attention in a crowd. It is full of character – strong, eager, and expressive; and when lit up by the fire of her emotions while she is speaking, it is quite beautiful ... She is a most effective speaker. Her voice is one of rare sweetness

⁶² The *Tribune*, January 17, 1879, p. 3: "Mrs Bayertz [sic] has elocutionary ability, a good command of simple but forcible language; she possesses a clear and distinct utterance, an earnest, pleasing, and modulative voice, and an intonation of pathos and feeling which renders her addresses very impressive, and gives her power over her hearers." During the same month Mlle Hermione, the "accomplished elocutionist" gave a lecture on "Our Queen" in the Town Hall. The report of the meeting was quite critical of her elocutionary skills.

⁶³ *Tribune*, 28 Jan. 1879

⁶⁴ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 97

and power, and she uses it like an experienced orator [which of course by this stage she was]. She has good command of choice, nervous English, and she speaks with directness, simplicity, and clearness, avoiding subtleties of argument and obscure allusions.”⁶⁶ [and giving the present speaker an inferiority complex!!] Her voice must have had remarkable carrying power in those days without amplification, as she is constantly referred to as speaking to audiences in the hundreds, if not thousands. In fact an earlier report from Tasmania said that Mrs Baeyertz was “most impressive in her style ... she would be good example to preachers in her delivery.”⁶⁷

Summing up her speaking style, the contributor to the *ADEB* writes of her “simple homely anecdotal style of preaching which was combined with her careful avoidance of emotional excess [always feared in a woman preacher!] and uncompromising presentation of sin and redemption.”⁶⁸ The *Los Angeles Churchman*, quoted in the biography, noted “her profound knowledge of Scripture; her spiritual perception of its truths; her soundness in the faith of Christ; her aptness, grasp, pathos, boldness, hard common sense, [and] freedom from cant...”⁶⁹

However notwithstanding the many positive comments, we know from private information that the group of Christians meeting in the People's Hall in Hobart, where large congregations heard her speak, eventually asked her not to return as they had decided women should not be allowed to preach.⁷⁰ Previously (January 1878) a report had been sent to *Willing Work*, quoting the Launceston *Examiner* that the “lady evangelist is attracting large congregations in the People’s Hall in Hobartown” with her “pathetic manner and earnestness in delivery being leading features.”⁷¹ However an early sign of trouble was that in March 1878 a certain section of the Church of Christ was against the lady evangelist, although “the work was prospering in her

⁶⁵ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 82

⁶⁶ *ibid*, p. 71

⁶⁷ *Willing Work*, 18 Aug 1878

⁶⁸ Brian Dickey (ed), *Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney, 1994), p. 19

⁶⁹ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 69

⁷⁰ Information from the diary of Henry Garrett, the first correspondent of the Hobart meeting of Open Brethren. Diary in the possession of Alan Dyer, Sheffield. 27 Mar 1880.

⁷¹ *Willing Work*, 19 Jan 1878.

hands”.⁷² Nevertheless the meetings were supported by Christians of various denominations, and several hundred were turned away at the door, with people coming out saying “they would have stayed all night”.⁷³ These meetings seem to have been held as an adjunct to those of noted British evangelist Henry Varley in the Town Hall. On this same visit she extended her stay (after feeling “very much exhausted”) to speak at the Congregational Chapel at New Town, the chapel at O’Brien’s Bridge, Richmond, South Bruni, Esperance, New Norfolk,⁷⁴ Launceston,⁷⁵ and Deloraine.⁷⁶

The group which met in the People’s Hall [which I think was where the Scripture Union office is now, opposite the State Library in Bathurst Street)] was the fledgling Brethren assembly, and the diary of one of their elders, Henry Garrett, a Hobart businessman, records on 27 March 1880 that he and a visiting speaker, Mr Moyse, spoke to Mrs Baeyertz and told her she could not preach for them any more. Incidentally, it is indicative of the non-denominational status of some early Brethren fellowships and the wide acceptance of Mrs Baeyertz that she had already taken three lots of meetings over three years. In fact this was not an isolated case – in May 1878 she is recorded as having preached at the Gospel Hall (ie Brethren) in St Kilda, taking the Sunday evening Gospel meeting with the room crowded to overflowing and people being converted,⁷⁷ and in January 1880 she was reported as speaking at both evening evangelistic meetings (about 400 people) at the Believers Conference at the Kentishbury [Sheffield] Gospel Hall.⁷⁸

There is a passing reference to her staying in Launceston in 1886 “for two months to keep up the Memorial Church services until Mr George Soltau, the pastor, should arrive.” On this occasion at least she seems to have acted in an almost pastoral role, although it seems she mainly took the services rather than undertook an overall leadership role. However the biography also states that she “had the joy of handing

⁷² *Willing Work*, 15 Mar 1878.

⁷³ *Willing Work*, 29 Mar 1878.

⁷⁴ *ibid*

⁷⁵ *ibid*, 12 April 1878

⁷⁶ *ibid*, c. 19 April 1878

⁷⁷ *ibid*, 31 May 1878.

⁷⁸ *ibid*, Jan 1880.

over to him a congregation of 1800 and 300 professed converts."⁷⁹ Again, this was a non-denominational church, started and originally funded by Henry Reed and later his widow, and she is warmly spoken of in *The Pioneer*, a periodical put out by that church for some years.⁸⁰ Clearly she had no wish nor calling (and realistically no opportunity) to be the full-time pastor of a church.

So from the mid-1870s she embarked on a public career in evangelism and Bible teaching. Until at least the early 1900s she was active in taking meetings in many Australasian cities and overseas. The biography does not, I believe from internal and other evidence, give every place at which Mrs Baeyertz spoke. However, consistently large crowds, sometimes numbering thousands, are mentioned over a period of about 250 years. Her original bases were in Melbourne, Adelaide and district (where she spent most of the three years from 1880), Bendigo, Ballarat, Hobart, and Launceston. Following an invitation to New Zealand in 1889, examples of meetings in Dunedin, Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington, Wanganui, and Auckland are given. In about 1891 she went to North America, taking large meetings in Los Angeles, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal, followed by an invitation to Britain in 1892 where she spoke in London, Cardiff, Winchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Belfast, and Dublin. There seems no reason to doubt the veracity of the account; it was obviously published when most people involved, and indeed Mrs Baeyertz herself, was still alive.

[Aside: one of the people who responded to her message in Cork, Ireland, in 1892, before he moved to Australia, was the young T. C. Hammond, later Archdeacon of Sydney and a very influential Principal of Moore Theological College.]⁸¹

There are consistent descriptions of the crowds who attended her meetings. A few accounts will give the picture: in Bendigo in 1879 the Princess Theatre was densely packed night after night and "hundreds were refused entry" reported the *Bendigo*

⁷⁹ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 59. This also states that she "had the joy of handing over to him a congregation of 1800 and 300 professed converts."

⁸⁰ *The Pioneer* (Launceston), July/August 1886.

⁸¹ *On Being*, April 1997, p. 41

Advertiser.⁸² In Ballarat in 1880, the meetings moved to a large theatre and “on the Sunday afternoon many brought their evening meal and consented to be locked in the building ‘til the time of the evening meeting rather than lose their certainty of seats ... the municipal authorities prohibited vehicular traffic down the street as the crowds were so dense.”⁸³ In Launceston in 1881 “the building was so crowded numbers couldn’t get in”.⁸⁴ In Auckland “there were often 1000 to 1500 at the afternoon Bible readings; and so great were the crowds at night that the newspapers warned parents to keep children away from the precincts of the meeting place for fear of accidents.”⁸⁵ In Montreal in 1892 an article in the press commented on the power (of God) which “on Monday evening filled that large church with two thousand five hundred Christians, admitted by ticket.”⁸⁶

One of her innovations was to hold separate meetings for men, at a mission in Adelaide. The reason that these proved successful was, she believed, that men did not like to be embarrassed in front of their female relatives, and because it was easier for parents “among the poorer classes” [ie without servants] to take turns coming to meetings. Meetings for men only were often held by male preachers, such as Henry Varley, who used the occasion to speak on matters of purity unfit for female ears, but Mrs Baeyertz was concerned that unless men came to the meetings she had “not got hold of the people”.⁸⁷ She also held separate women’s meetings on occasion.

She combined evangelism with an emphasis on holiness: "Unlike many evangelists, she does not confine herself merely to preaching the Gospel to the unconverted, but devotes a large portion of her time to instructing Christians in the Word of God."⁸⁸ This also raises the question of the topics upon which she preached. The titles of the twelve published sermons give some clue. They are: The Jewish Passover, The Great White Throne, The Two Offerings of Cain and Abel, The Coming of the Lord, The Clean Heart, Holiness, Seven Steps to the Blessed Life, The Overcoming Life, The

⁸² reported in *Willing Work*, July 1879

⁸³ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 49

⁸⁴ *Willung Work*, Feb. 1881

⁸⁵ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 61

⁸⁶ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 93

⁸⁷ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 52

Parable of the Ten Virgins, The Baptism of the Holy Ghost, The Unpardonable Sin, and Worry.⁸⁹ They may not seem overtly evangelistic to us, and indeed although Mrs Baeyertz was always referred to as “the Jewish lady evangelist”, much of her preaching was more akin to that of the holiness movement. In a period when a reasonable proportion of the population consisted of at least nominal churchgoers, some at least of the “conversions” must have been renewals of lukewarm convictions. Also, it was probably more acceptable to use the word evangelist – it was harder to argue against someone who was ostensibly winning souls for the Kingdom than against someone who might be taking the place of normal preachers.

Another of Anderson's criteria fulfilled by Mrs Baeyertz was that she responded to specific invitations to preach, and often did so in such places as mission halls, Mechanics Institutes, town halls, and theatres ("For six months ... she preached in the large Theatre Royal [in Melbourne] every Sunday night.").⁹⁰ One presumes that invitations gave an added validity to her work, in that the initiative did not entirely come from her. As well, she availed herself of recommendations from leading Christians, such as David Walker, the Secretary of the YMCA in Sydney, whose letter eased her way in the USA (she was told that there was "no opening for a lady in connection with the Association", until they received a letter of recommendation from him),⁹¹ and the evangelist Henry Varley who introduced her to people in London.

Finally, she saw her ministry as crossing denominational boundaries: "The question is often asked, 'What denomination does Mrs Baeyertz belong to?' Mrs Baeyertz numbers among her personal friends, all over the world, a vast number of ministers, as well as laymen, of all denominations, but she has never left the Church of her early choice - the Church of England ... But in the widest and truest sense, Mrs. Baeyertz

⁸⁸ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 97-8.

⁸⁹ see Appendix B for titles of addresses published in *Twelve Addresses by Mrs Baeyertz*.

⁹⁰ eg "For six months ... she preached in the large Theatre Royal [in Melbourne] every Sunday night." *From Darkness to Light*, p. 52. The biography does not, I believe from internal evidence, give every place at which Mrs Baeyertz spoke. However, consistently large crowds, sometimes numbering thousands, are mentioned in Melbourne, Adelaide and district, Bendigo, Ballarat, Hobart, Launceston, Dunedin, Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington, Wanganui, Auckland, Los Angeles, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, London, Cardiff, Winchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Belfast, and Dublin, over a period of about 20 years. There seems no reason to doubt the veracity of the account; it was obviously published when most people involved, and indeed Mrs Baeyertz herself, was still alive.

belongs to the whole Church of God."⁹² She saw her ministry as based on fundamental Christian truths, common to all Christians.⁹³ So did other people: a report from Geelong in 1880 said that "We think that our sister belongs to, and should receive encouragement and support from every denomination in Victoria."⁹⁴ . In the course of the biography, and in the reports in *Willing Work*, specific churches mentioned as holding meetings for her are Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist and Brethren. Certainly she had no intention of forming her own church or promoting a personal following, as did some of the more charismatic American women preachers such as Aimee Semple McPherson.

Little is known of other woman evangelists in Australia, apart from those in the Salvation Army and some Bible Christian Methodists like Serena Thorne Lake. The exception is Mrs Margaret Hampson, who was in Australia in 1883. It is possible that she benefitted from the doors opened by Mrs Baeyertz. She too was a comfortably-off widow, with 20 years experience of evangelistic work in Liverpool, England. She too had inter-denominational support, spoke to audiences of thousands in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, had a meeting for men only, and was sponsored by the YMCA. She had a stronger connection with the temperance movement than did Mrs Baeyertz and encouraged converts to sign the pledge. ⁹⁵ "Time and time again the biographies of ... WCTU women referred to their church work and to the influence of the 1883 visit of the female evangelist, Mrs Hampson from Manchester, in convincing them that women had a wider role to play than in the home."⁹⁶

Both of them were part of what was almost a wave of visiting Christian speakers in the 1880s, such as Henry Varley, George Williams (an associate of Moody's), various temperance speakers, and such well-known names as George Muller and Hudson

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 67.

⁹² ibid, p. 41

⁹³ True adherence to these meant that "then there would die the last sectarian feud; in one great common grave would be bundled the schism of isms, and then, too, would Christ's prayer be fulfilled - "That they ... may be one..." Ibid, p. 72-3.

⁹⁴ *Willing Work*, July 1880.

⁹⁵ W Phillips, *Defending "a Christian Country"* (St Lucia, 1981), pp. 64-67. Phillips says "a woman evangelist was indeed something of a novelty" (p. 65).

⁹⁶ I Tyrrell, "International Aspects of the Women's Temperance Movement in Australia: The Influence of the American WCTU, 1882-1914", *Journal of Religious History* 12, no. 3 (1983), p. 296

Taylor. However it is worth noting that none of the above had such a sustained ministry as Mrs Baeyertz. It seems that she took large meetings in Australia from at least 1876 until her departure to New Zealand in 1889.

It appears that Emilia Baeyertz did not return to Australia once she went back to Britain. It is believed there was a measure of reconciliation with her family, and her daughter married an English doctor. She died in 1926 near London, aged 84.

CONCLUSION

If we revert to my spherical model, we can see that Mrs Baeyertz moved from the centre to the circumference quite rapidly, and that in the space of about thirty years she experienced most roles open to Protestant women of the day, and some that were not usually considered appropriate. She ran the gamut from wife and mother through faithful church worker, parish visitor, missionary to the Jews, and factory evangelist, to public speaker and leader of missions.

Her philanthropic work was mostly spiritually based - from what we know she was not involved in the distribution of practical charity. She does not seem to have been active in the temperance movement, although she was clearly in sympathy with it.⁹⁷ It seems unlikely that she would have been attracted to community life as a Sister or deaconess, but in any case her public career was well-launched before these options were available. Her sermons show a vivid, still-readable style, but I have not been able to trace any other published works.

The acceptance that women such as Mrs Baeyertz received seems to have been the exception that proves the rule. They were regarded as unique specimens, and therefore not subject to quite the same restrictions as other women. Once they started to move out of a "woman's sphere" fairly spectacularly, some people at least seemed to have waived the rules. As Mrs Baeyertz' biographer writes, "The door of the Lord

⁹⁷ "The Rev. Matthew Burnett, the great apostle of the Temperance cause in Australia..." is mentioned in connection with her "great farewell meeting" in Melbourne. Ibid, p. 57.

had opened, therefore there was blessing. He had opened it, and no man could shut it."⁹⁸

⁹⁸ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 68